

INSCRIPTIONS ON TOMBS OR MONUMENTS IN
MADRAS CITY.

INTRODUCTION.

THIS volume contains a *select* list of monumental inscriptions relating to Europeans buried in the Madras presidency. It includes all epitaphs of adults earlier than 1800 and such entries of later date as possess historical or local interest. Numerous translations from foreign languages have been added, and attention has been paid towards annotating the names of persons and places of importance.

2. At the beginning of the last century an attempt to form a similar collection was made by William Urquhart of Madras in his "Oriental Obituary," printed at the Journal Press in 1809. This "Impartial Compilation," as it is termed on the title page, was originally projected in three volumes, but two only were published. An advertisement to the first number contains the announcement that "volume II is preparing and will be put to press so soon as paper can be procured, at present there being none in Madras which could possibly answer the purpose." It is believed that only two copies of this curious book survive, one in the library of the late Archbishop Goethals at Calcutta and the other in the private collection of Mr. Edward Wenger of the Bengal Secretariat, who has lent his copy for the purposes of the present work. The British Museum possesses only a copy of the first volume. Urquhart's precursor had been Asiaticus, whose "East Indian Chronologist" (1801) "from the commencement of the East India Trade by David and Solomon," and "Monumental Register" (1803) were printed at the Hircarrah Press, Calcutta, by Mr. Hawkesworth. Many of Asiaticus' gleanings were reproduced in 1815 in M. DeRozario's "Complete Monumental Register of epitaphs in or about Calcutta." Lastly in 1848 appeared the time-honoured "Bengal Obituary" of Messrs. Holmes & Co. of Cossitollah. This book was the product of a firm of undertakers, who traced the origin of monuments to the Deluge, "when the rainbow was made or selected as a standing token," and encouraged the public to proper ideas of sepulture by the argument of the resurrection of the body. Since the appearance of this work, only occasional attempts have been made to preserve in print the crumbling memorials of European dead in India. In 1861 Mr. Augustus F. Bellasis of the Bombay Civil Service compiled a monograph on the old tombs at Surat, and in 1877 Mr. Leopold Ludovici, Editor of the "Ceylon Examiner," collected the Dutch inscriptions of that island into the Lapidarium Zeylandicum. Little was done in Madras till Mr. LeFanu in his "Salem Manual" (1883) set the example of registering the names of all Europeans who had found a last resting place in the cemeteries of his district. In 1880 facsimiles of the tombstones round St. Mary's Church, Fort St. George, were executed by the Survey department under the orders of the Duke of Buckingham, who was then Governor. This album was prepared for private circulation, and only two copies were left in Madras. Within the last few years a systematic recension of inscriptions from European graveyards throughout India has taken place at the instance of the Secretary of State, and lists have been published from every district in Madras. The present volume is a selection from those lists with additions and corrections. It is intended as a companion volume to the "List of Inscriptions on Tombs or Monuments in Bengal," edited by Mr. C. R. Wilson in 1896.

3. The history of old Madras is in no small measure written upon its tombstones. Especially interesting are the memorials of the Company's earliest servants. They and their families lie buried in every coast town, and often a ruined cemetery is all that remains of a famous factory. Their Puritan names such as Ordonicus and Tryphena are landmarks which bind together successive generations. Like the Pilgrim Fathers, who colonised America, our stout-hearted forbears in the Land of Regrets were all of them true-born Englishmen of credit and renown. Indeed, pioneering would seem to be the peculiar province of the Anglo-Saxon all the world over. The Scotchman follows at a later stage in the race. Our original Cape Merchants, Levant Traders and East India Venturers were typical sons of John Bull; men of London, Bristol, Devon, and the Home Counties. As we travel down the centuries, there are associations with many names that have won recognition at home. A descendant of Cromwell in the person of John Russell was President at Fort William in the days of Queen Anne. Another, Nicholas Morse, ruled as Governor in Fort St. George almost at the same time that Milton's grandson, Caleb Clarke, was parish clerk of St. Mary's, Madraspatam. In the shadow of the towers of the High Court sleeps little David, the four-year old son of Elihu Yale. His father is remembered as the founder of an enlightened university and forgotten as the Governor of a benighted presidency. Every schoolboy knows that Thackeray was the son and grandson of Bengal Collectors; but the tomb at Ootacamund of Sir Henry Davison, the Madras Chief Justice, to whom he dedicated the "Virginians," is as unremembered as the grave of his uncle Webb Thackeray at Cuddapah. Another grave interesting to lovers of literature is that of Charles Reade's civilian brother at Calicut, laid to rest beside Collector Conolly who was hacked to pieces by Moplas in 1855. This presidency can also claim a brother-in-law of Sir Walter Scott in Charles Carpenter, a former Commercial Resident of Salem; while at St. Mark's Church, Bangalore, is a tablet to the poet's son and heir, a Colonel of Hussars, who perished on his voyage to the Cape, and another son sleeps in far-off Teheran. Trichinopoly has memories only for Heber, who, after three short years of India, died there in 1826; so that few visit its Fort Church, in the chancel of which reposes Rebecca Darke, a lady who has some claim on posterity as being the grand-mother of Julia, Lady Peel, wife of a Premier and mother of a Speaker of the House of Commons. In Madras the tombstone of Hugh Boyd, a reputed Junius, has entirely disappeared. There is no trace of any monument on the solitary Ganjam coast to Alexander Macrabbie, the devoted brother-in-law and adherent of Francis, an even better claimant to the authorship of "Woodfall's letters." A son-in-law of de Quincey lies buried at Madras in the person of Colonel Baird Smith of the Bengal Engineers. Two of Addison's brothers, one a Governor of Madras, the other a free merchant, died at Fort St. George. It was the inheritance of the Governor's fortune that enabled the essayist to bring off his marriage with the Dowager Countess of Warwick, the "Chloe" of Holland House with whom he had so long been in love. A son of Charles Dickens, for whom a cadetship had been procured on the Bengal establishment, finds a last resting place in Calcutta. His godfather, Walter Savage Landor, in England paid the tribute of verse to Rose Aylmer, who came out to her uncle, a Judge of the Supreme Court at Fort William, and died there in her twenty-first year "in the bloom of youth and in the possession of every accomplishment that could gladden or embellish life." The same writer in his "lines to Theodosia Garrow," the kinswoman of Anthony Trollope, celebrates a near relative of British Nabobs, of

whom three repose in the cemetery beside the Cooum. Madras itself is not without a poet. In 1803 John Leyden, M.D., of St. Andrew's arrived on the Coromandel Coast as Assistant Surgeon and ended his life at Java in 1811, bewailed by Scott and Malcolm. Another well-remembered lament is that of Matthew Arnold over his brother in the Punjab Educational Service, the author of "Oakfield or Fellowship in the East," who died at Gibraltar, on his journey home, and sleeps off his sorrows there beside "Lucknow" Kavanagh. South India has as many classic memories in her birth places as in her death places. Those who have read Lawrence Sterne and remember his heroine Eliza of the *Sentimental Journey*, the pure and sprightly Eliza with all her refined tastes and elegant accomplishments, will marvel to call to mind that it was in no more magnificent city than Anjengo that Elizabeth Draper, née Selater, was born in 1744. Nineteen years passed and Tranquebar, the Queen of the Coromandel Coast, gave birth to Catherine Noel Werlée, "cette rare et nonchalante beauté indienne," destined to bewitch historical characters of high renown. Half a century later at Hyderabad in the Deccan was born Kitty Kirkpatrick, the heroine of one romance and the offspring of another. Other names there are that have made history as well as literature. More than one mouldering monument testifies to the men of the coast army who fell fighting the battles of the Carnatic under Lawrence and Clive and Dalton and Draper. Our public highways are strewn with broken-down memorials to others who died on the march and made the roadside their resting place. Nor were all these heroes Englishmen. Upon Seringapatam tombstones may be read the foreign names of De Meuron's Regiment and its officers, names which have disappeared so long ago from the Army List that few of us know now-a-days that such a corps of Switzers ever formed part of our army during twenty most eventful years of India's Military history. Even in the paths of peace there are notabilities: the great and good Munro; Governors Morse, Ward, Adam, Lords Pigot and Hobart; Bishops Corrie, Dealtry and Caldwell; missionaries like Swartz, Ziegenbalg, Noble and the Jesuit Beschi; artists of the calibre of Colonel Swain Ward, Lieutenant Payne and the miniaturist Casselli; surgeons like Anderson, Harris, Griffith and Pasley, worthy followers of the succession which began with Hamilton, Boughton and Holwell and has produced in our own day warriors such as Brydon and writers such as Busteed; General Carnac, Clive's colleague at Plassey, whose wife's portrait by Reynolds adorns the Tate Gallery; the DeMorgans, father and son; Binny, Parry and DeMonte, founders of the three great merchant houses of Madras; the Palmers and Rumbolds of Hyderabad, and a host of others. The Civil Service is well represented by young Lushington, Heber's companion on his tour in Upper India; by a Roebuck, uncle of the Sheffield reformer; by F. W. Ellis, whose unassisted scholarship is so warmly praised by Burnell, the Prince of palæographers; by Josiah Webbe; by Rous Peter "the Pandyan"; and by a multitude of once potent civilian names. Then was the Augustan age of John Company; and among its ruling families ran some of the bluest blood in the three kingdoms. Englishmen of birth were indeed no rare exceptions in India a hundred years ago. The most noteworthy feature in the Allahabad graveyard was a broken column over the resting place of a FitzClarence, brother of the Earl of Munster, and son of his Majesty King William the Fourth. An old Bengal Civil List counts no less than nine baronets and eleven younger sons of peers in its ranks. The annals of the Indian Civil Service have yet to be written: but to their chronicler the "Book of the Dead" is likely to prove a genealogical paper of more than ordinary importance.

4. As the oldest European presidency, Madras is exceptionally rich in memorials of other Western nations than our own. The Portuguese entered India as far back as 1498 with (as has been said) the sword in one hand and the crucifix in the other; but their inscriptions are very few. If we except the epitaphs at Goa, San Thomé and Cochin, no monuments to the contemporaries of Camoens are traceable. The Cochin slab, dated 1524, recently disinterred near the new Port office, is apparently the oldest *memento mori* of this nation in the peninsula. The Luz tablet is older, but it commemorates, not a death, but the foundation of a Church to our Lady of Light, perhaps the Madre de Deos from whom the word Madras is sometimes fancifully derived. At Colombo in 1898 an even more ancient stone was turned up near the old breakwater, bearing the Lusitanian arms and the date 1501. It seems probable that in India, as in Ceylon, Portuguese monuments were destroyed wholesale by the Dutch. There is the recorded testimony of an early Dutch writer Saar that those at Jaffna were broken into pieces by the sailors with sledge hammers. In the south of the peninsula, Mylapore Cathedral and the Franciscan Church at Cochin contain the best collections. For a long time a Cochin stone bearing the name "Vasco" was regarded as commemorating Vasco da Gama's death, which occurred there in 1524, until the slab was properly examined by the late Rev. A. F. Sealy of Ernakulam College. But although the relics of their race may be few, the influence of Portugal upon Southern India was very marked, and it has contributed to the speech of to-day words that are in hourly use from Calcutta to Peshawar. The boat call of converted fishermen on the *côte de la Pêcherie* is still "Javier, Javier," though the cry has been less romantically interpreted as a corruption of the Hindustani "Jahiye, Jahiye." At one time Portuguese threatened to become the lingua franca of the Malabar and Coromandel Coasts, and as late as 1776 we find the epitaph of Danish Maderup at Tranquebar composed in that tongue. This circumstance takes us back to a period when Tranquebar Missionaries preached in a periwig in Portuguese, and read from their prayer books an "oração por a illustrissima Companhia da India Oriental." The altar text in their little church is written in Portuguese and the next village on the road to Karikal is called "la grande Aldée," aldea being Portuguese for village. A favourite Quietorium of the "naturals de Madras-tapatam" was at St. Thomas' Mount, where it is recorded that one lady wished to be buried on the steps leading to the summit, because there the devout passer-by might read her epitaph and in his charity pray for the peace of her soul.

5. Mention of the Mount leads on to mention of the Madras Armenians, whose earliest inscriptions are found there. These merchants from Persia are a practically extinct colony now-a-days; but their little cemeteries are a witness that they once had a share in the commerce of the settlement. They settled permanently at Madras in the year 1666, and from 1683 are found in the service of the Company, who, for reasons of economy, had issued orders that, instead of multiplying European agents in India, Asiatics should be employed. In Madras the most notable "Armeniorum fautor" is Coja Petrus Uscau, the builder of the Marmalong bridge in 1726, whose documents regarding the Uscau charity are still to be seen in the Saidapet Collector's office. He lies interred at Vepery and the superlatives on his epitaph testify to his numerous virtues. The church of his countrymen in Armenian street, Black Town, was erected in 1772 on the site of an old burial ground and replaced a demolished place of worship on the Esplanade which dated back to some sixty years earlier. Several of its pavement graves, such as the family

vault of Shameer Sultan, are very remarkable. One slab within its recess bears the name of the Rev. Arratoon Shumavon, "by the grace of God a priest from Shiraz" and printer of the first known Armenian journal. In Fort St. George, at Masulipatam and Negapatam, are other slabs with metrical verses in Latin and the vernacular. The Armenians have ever been a purely commercial people in this country. They built no cities and carved out for themselves no empire; but to England they have rendered services which deserve remembrance and are fitly chronicled in Mr. Mesrobian's "History of the Armenians in India." Their most remarkable tombstone is set not in the East, but at St. Denis in the West. "Cy gist le très noble et très excellent Prince Lyon de Lusignan, quint roy latin du royaume d'Arménie qui rendit l'âme à Dieu à Paris le xxix jour de Novembre l'an de grâce mccccxiii."

6. Of all the European powers that held sway in India, none more genuinely felt and observed the *culte des morts* than the Dutch. In his famous essay on the Tombs in Westminster Abbey (Spectator, No. 26), Addison has remarked on this characteristic: and Pepys' Diary contains a similar comment. Their regal mausoleums at Surat long ago attracted the attention of travellers like Dr. John Fryer (1682) and Ovington (1689); the latter of whom mentions a custom maintained by Dutchmen in his day of celebrating convivial feasts over the tomb of a toper of facetious memory where, "remembering their departed companion, they sometimes forgot themselves." Of their disused cemeteries in South India, the Pulicat graveyard, which has a well-preserved lychgate of 1656 flanked by two standing stone skeletons, is the most remarkable. Over one of its oldest graves may be seen inscribed the letters V.O.C. (Vereenigde Oostendische Compagnie), the familiar monogram of the Netherlands United East India Company. On another slab is a pictorial representation of the Fort of Castel Geldria, which Mr. Rea has reproduced in his volume of facsimiles. The Dutch stones here and elsewhere were elaborately carved by masons, who graduated in their profession before coming out to India, and handed down much of their skill to Hindoo craftsmen. The only European relic at Cape Comorin is an imposing granite block to the perpetual honour of a faithful Dutch factor. At Porto Novo the bas-relief over the grave of Matthys Pfeiffer's wife gives a perfect picture of an eighteenth century piper playing on a recorder and dressed in a long-flapped coat with old fashioned stockings and shoes and armed with a rapier. Further north at Bunder is the figure of a bygone mynheer wearing a three-cornered hat of the kind in which Gulliver is usually represented, and closely resembling the famous European head in one of the upper niches of the Tanjore temple. In Wolfendahl's Church at Colombo are the state tombs of deceased Governors of that island, ornamented with heraldic emblems of the highest degree of excellence. Pieces of quaintly sounding rhyme are often added; and the structures themselves are more than emblematic of the words of the sculptors that they will endure to the "laaste opstaanding."

7. After Dutch settlements it is proper to speak of French; for the two nations lived close together. No trace can now be found of any tombs to the pioneers of French enterprise in India, though a broken Tamil tablet in the precinct of St. Mary's, Madras, records the name of a native Christian founder of the Poudichéry Company. Several of the English gravestones brought from the esplanade burial ground bear marks of the English cannon balls which helped to keep Lally out of Fort St. George in 1758. But the only extant memorial to

a Frenchman of that period is Bussy's little known grave, opposite Pondichéry Cathedral. Of the captains courageous who later sought service in the armies of native princes, many died in India. Charles Babel, dit Zephyr, general to the forces of Basalat Jung, was buried at Guntoor in 1770 and has these letters commendatory over his headstone: "*Chéri de Fortune et favori de Mars, La Victoire suivit partout ses étendards; D'Hercule il égala les travaux et la gloire, Mais une mort trop cruelle a trompé notre espoir.*" A still more famous soldier of fortune is Raymond, the eponymous hero of the Nizam's Mysoram (Monsieur Raymond) Regiment. He sleeps on a lonely eminence outside Hyderabad where the anniversary of his death is still celebrated by Mahomedans. Further south at Udayagiri is the family vault of Eustache De Launoy, who drilled the defenders of the lines of Travancore and may well have been a relation of the Governor of the Bastille. Even Ramnad, at the very end of the peninsula, possesses the grave of Manuel Martinz, a condottiere like de Boigne from Savoy, whose kindly eccentricities in his old age are amusingly recorded in the military reminiscences of Colonel Welsh. And here and there, as at Tummaracode in the Palnad, are the scattered sepulchres of adventurers who have left no other memorials of themselves than that they died there.

8. Cemeteries to-day are the only witness that there ever was a Danish East India Company. Tranquebar has become even more of a city of the dead than Serampore in Bengal; and is famous solely for its missionaries. No less than seventeen of these Halle magisters lie buried in its graveyards, and pious hands annually repaint the letters on their tombs. There rests Ziegenbalg, the father of Protestant missions in India, who died in harness at the early age of 35. There Swartz began the career which ended at Tanjore in 1798. There it was that Rottler, Gericke and Kiernander laid the foundations of their reputation. In latter days, the seniors of the mission turned their attention to scientific research, and this brought them wide celebrity even in Europe. An even more eminent name than theirs in science is that of the Frenchman Jacquemont, who was cut off like Csoma de Kőrös in the land of his sojourning. The French Academy conveyed home his remains in 1881, thus exemplifying the motto over Claude Lorraine's tomb in the Church of Trinità dei Monti at Rome; "*La nation française n'oublie pas ses enfants célèbres, même quand ils sont morts à l'étranger.*" At Tranquebar two celebrated laymen found their last home: Colonel Mühlendorf, from whose veins the blood-royal of Denmark has flowed into several Madrassi families; and Sundt, whose sister became the wife of Blücher's brother.

9. The Hebrew cemetery in Mint street and the Beth-haim of the white Jews at Cochin preserve the epitaphs of another interesting community. America, which gave to India Ochterlony and Alexander Gardner, who lived for many years as a fighting Afghan chief, is represented in southern districts by a Bellary cotton-planter and a commandant of Ganjam pensioners; Italy, the mother-country of Avitabile, Ventura and the Filoses, by Constantine Beschi and Nicolao Manucci, though the latter's gravestone at San Thomé is wanting; Greece by a seventeenth century Sindbad whose monument has found its way to the presidency Museum. Foreigners of every nationality occur in the old East India Company's service. In 1764, remarks Niebuhr (father of the historian), its army possessed Polish, Swiss, Dutch, and German officers. Among those buried in Madras are Count de Warren and Baron von Kutzleben; while the Bengal Native Infantry once contained the name of Captain Georges François Grand, afterwards a Writer and the first husband of the future Princesse de Talleyrand.

10. That "peculiar people," the Huguenots, sent no inconsiderable contribution to the ranks of South Indian notabilities. The Carnacs, Chardins, Torrianos, Trapauds, Mangins, Cauliers, Amsincks and De Vismes were all members of refugee families. Of these, the Carnacs became such a power in the country that according to a popular saying they were credited with being the origin of the name Carnatic. Lord Pigot had Huguenot blood in his veins through his mother Frances Godde, tirewoman to the Queen, who is misspelt in the Baronetages as Goode. Another Governor of Fort St. George, Charles Smith, was the descendant of a Huguenot emigrant Lefevre, who took the name of Smith (faber).

11. The literature of the tombstone may often be turned to capital account. Unlike the paper of the record-room, these massive slabs, with their thick lettering, are practically indestructible, if they but succeed in escaping the privy paw of the native dhoby. For example, the Pulicat inscriptions are first hand contemporary authority towards the yet unwritten history of the Netherlands Company. Many an exact merchant inscribed his pedigree on his gravestone; and such statements of fact are important to genealogists. Some there are that have left more than a name behind them. Lawson's Bay, Vizagapatam, perpetuates the memory of a "country captain" of local renown. Robert Sloper, who rests at Tranquebar among the missionaries, founded Sloper street, Cuddalore, and there his wife Kitoria reposes. One chief of a settlement "though without the wealth of a Governor, was rich in the real worth of a man." Others, like Paul Benfield and Mr. Snodgrass of Rambha, tasted more literally of the fruit of the pagoda tree. At Surat the Latin hexameters over Christopher Oxenden (1659), that most brotherly of brothers, tell us more of the factory life of our predecessors than many pages of history. "Do you ask, my masters, what is your profit and loss? You have gained sorrow, he has lost his life, but *per contra* let him write 'death to me is gain.'" Often the cause of dying is described with old-fashioned quaintness. "1793, August 14th," records Asiatics, "Mrs. Agatha Andrews. She died of pure sensibility." At Guntoor a young civilian fell a sacrifice "to the incautious use of castor-oil nuts." At Arnee two commanding officers departed this life "most suddenly" by reason of duels. At Negapatam lies a fond wife "whose soul, perfect in all earthly ordained virtue, departed at the early call of its guardian author for its next assigned function in his eternal Kingdom." At another place an eminent lady's "smile was the beam of benevolence, her heart the soul of sympathy, and the uniform complacency of her temper illumined her countenance with the blended ray of sensibility and virtue." Even in their epitaphs do our ancestors give us a taste of their quality.

12. In the following pages, notes have been added, wherever possible, for the information of the reader. A number of these are by Mr. H. E. A. Cotton. Assistance has also been obligingly rendered by (amongst others) Rev. H. Jensen; Father van de Westelaken and Mr. R. Morris, Collector of Kistna; Rev. A. M. Teixeira; Mr. M. J. Seth; and Mr. H. LeFanu. The late Mr. A. T. Pringle, the Rev. Frank Penny and Mrs. Frank Penny have kindly read the proofs and made many valuable suggestions. The full names of officers, whose initials alone appear on their tombstones, have been traced, wherever possible, from old Army Lists. The index has been prepared by Mr. E. Gaudoin and Mr. Coombes. Thanks are due to Mr. R. Hill and Mr. T. Fisher for the careful printing of the work.